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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887] the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463] that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554] the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231] warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789] various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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593 858 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάρικο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 582 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately

593 578 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 578 461 463 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the specialization of technical roles.[5] Shepherding in the Zagori country demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[5] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
22 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
36 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
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10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

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[313]
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/159 cont./
as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234]
[439] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252]
[233] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer, prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

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463 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 233 463 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks, namely:

Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 463 554 474 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in (437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 432 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.